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CPYRGHT Congo recalled

Crises surround Johnson

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Washington

Foreign policy has had a way of surrounding American presidents since World War II. President Johnson, like his three immediate predecessors, has found this out.

International crises in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic now occupy most of the President's attention—as much as 80 percent of any given day.

Aides say, however, that the President is fascinated by any peace steps or agreements between nations. Obviously President Johnson is disturbed by current criticism from the global press and wants to accent the positive whenever possible.

Preoccupied as he is with the Caribbean and Southeast Asia dilemmas, the President is struggling with the problem of how to bring the military, the social-economic, and the diplomatic aspects of his foreign policy into balance.

Policy of patience

By sending his close adviser McGeorge Bundy to the Dominican Republic, primarily because of the new outbreak of fighting there, he signals his deep concern that the United States is seeking a diplomatic-economic solution to the problem.

It remains to be seen whether the President's representatives will end the one-sided situation in which the United States has backed only the military junta.

Mr. Bundy's top-level team of civilians from the State Department and the Pentagon were told to consult carefully with the truce team of the Organization of American States (OAS).

United States policy is to be patient and persevering with the OAS as its 20-nation diplomatic-political machinery grinds away to build up a token inter-American force on the unhappy island. Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica will probably be first on the ground. Brazil is expected to provide between 600 and 800 troops.

President Johnson is known to believe that any president would have acted as he did in sending a large military force into the Dominican Republic. Apparently he insists that the humanitarian factor of protecting Americans endangered by the revolt still looms extremely important.

In conversation with visitors about the Caribbean island, President Johnson frequently brings the discussion around to the rescue operation in the Congo. He tells them that if any more Americans had been massacred in the Congo the United States would have faced a profoundly critical situation.

To protect American civilians he might have had to send American troops into Africa. (Ever since he took office he has kept the United States commitment to the Congo at a minimum. He considers South Vietnam a sobering example of how once-small international commitments can inexorably grow.)

Grim fact for U.S.

The President now tends to see the recent release of United States intelligence details on the Communist-Castroite infiltration of the rebel movement as a mistake. He is known to believe that because all the CIA information could not be released for security reasons, the principal effect of the uncovering was to bring a demand for more proof.

Best available White House information indicates the Communist-oriented rebels listed by the United States have left Santo Domingo. The United States theory is that the Communists are hiding, will bide their time, and may return to Santo Domingo if large-scale fighting breaks out again, in hopes of taking advantage of confusion.

President Johnson talks of the United States effort in South Vietnam as having "three faces"—military, diplomatic, and social-economic. But there is a tendency in the press, he believes, to ignore the social-economic aspect and to single out too often the cruel violence of the war.

Vienna meeting

As for the diplomatic side of the American policy triangle, President Johnson is naturally limited in giving information to the press. Any approaches to the Hanoi government seeking "unconditional discussions" must be kept secret to protect prospects.

For four days running the United States has not bombed North Vietnam. Presumably the suspension or pause is being used by the United States to probe the attitude of Hanoi toward possible discussions through third parties, although the United States maintains the pause is dictated by military reasons.

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The Soviet Union is known to be deeply concerned that the war in Vietnam could escalate and directly involve the U.S.S.R. Weekend reports from Vienna said the Johnson administration is trying to interest the Soviets in some kind of informal agreement to reduce the fighting in Vietnam.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk was supposed to be involved. His meeting in Vienna with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko lasted less than 10 minutes. Returning from Vienna with Mr. Rusk, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas said Sunday that "nothing substantive" came out of the brief meeting.

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